

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 3329

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: NATO, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: NATO SYG'S BACKGROUND MEMO FOR MINISTERS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

REF: USNATO 3232

FOLLOWING UP JUNE 7 NAC DISCUSSION REPORTED REFTTEL, ACTING SYG
CIRCULATED RESUME AS BACKGROUND FOR MINISTERS. TEXT OF MEMO
(PO/74/77 OF JUNE 11) FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT

A MEETING OF THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION, ATTENDED
BY LEADERS OF NATIONAL DELEGATIONS TO THE CSCE, WAS HELD ON
7TH JUNE TO TAKE STOCK OF THE SITUATION REACHED AT THE CONFERENCE'S
SECOND PHASE IN GENEVA. THE VIEWS EXPRESSED ON THAT OCCASION ARE
SUMMARISED BELOW.
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A. STATE OF ADVANCEMENT OF PHASE TWO

2. WORK ON THE VARIOUS AGENDA ITEMS HAS PROCEEDED SLOWLY
AND UNEVENLY: WHEREAS SOME PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE AREAS

OF ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC, TECHNICAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL CO-OPERATION, AND PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED TEXTS EXIST FOR FIVE OF THE PRINCIPLES GOVERNING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PARTICIPANTS, NO SUBSTANTIAL HEADWAY HAS BEEN MADE IN FIELDS OF MOST IMPORTANCE FOR ALLIANCE MEMBERS. THESE FIELDS INCLUDE CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, AND, IN THE THIRD BASKET, THE FREER FLOW OF INFORMATION AND HUMAN CONTACTS. THE SOVIET ATTITUDE ON THESE LATTER ISSUES HAS REMAINED INTRACTABLE.

B. POSSIBLE SOVIET MOTIVATIONS

3. CONJECTURE AS TO REASONS FOR THE ABSENCE ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET NEGOTIATIONS OF A MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE HAS CENTERED ON THREE POSSIBILITIES: THEIR ADOPTION OF A TACTICAL GAMBIT DESIGNED TO EAR DOWN THEIR INTERLOCUTERS; A "WAIT-AND-SEE" APPROACH CONDITIONED BY RECENT GOVERNMENT CHANGES IN WESTERN EUROPE; OR A HOLDING OPERATION PENDING RESOLUTION OF A REASSESSMENT WITHIN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF PURSUING THE CONFERENCE TO ITS CONCLUSION, PARTICULARLY IN THE LIGHT OF WESTERN INSISTENCE ON THE CONTENTS OF THE THIRD BASKET.

C. RESPONSE TO THIS ATTITUDE

4. SINCE THE PASSAGE OF TIME CAN BE EXPECTED TO RESOLVE THE ELEMENTS UNDERLYING THE SECOND AND THIRD OF THESE POSSIBLE MOTIVES, AND SINCE THE FIRST CAN BE COUNTERED ONLY BY A RESOLUTE RESPONSE FROM THE OTHER PARTICIPANTS, A CONSENSUS EMERGED AGAINST MAKING ANY FURTHER WESTERN CONCESSIONS AND IN FAVOUR OF MANIFESTING THE DETERMINATION OF ALLIANCE MEMBERS TO PURSUE THE PHASE TWO DISCUSSIONS FIRMLY AND PATIENTLY, FREE FROM DEADLINES, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS A SATISFACTORY AND BALANCED OUTCOME IS REACHED. THIS WOULD REQUIRE A CHANGE IN ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES IN THE DIRECTION OF GREATER FLEXIBILITY ON ITEMS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE WEST. IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, AND SINCE THE SOVIETS MIGHT BE BETTER PREPARED FOR PROTRACTED NEGOTIATIONS, THE IMPORTANCE WAS STRESSED OF MAINTAINING MAXIMUM ALLIED COHESION AND ALSO TO PRESERVING THE SUPPORT OF THE NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED

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PARTICIPANTS.

5. IT WAS FELT THAT THE COMMUNIQUE TO BE ISSUED IN OTTAWA MIGHT SERVE AS A VEHICLE FOR EMPHASISING IN CLEAR BUT MODERATE TERMS THE DETERMINATION OF THE ALLIANCE MEMBERS TO PERSEVERE IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SATISFACTORY AND BALANCED OUTCOME AT PHASE TWO OF THE CONFERENCE, ON THE BASIS OF THE MANDATES AGREED IN PHASE ONE. THIS MIGHT BE FOLLOWED BY A SERIES OF INDIVIDUAL DEMARCHES IN EASTERN EUROPEAN CAPITALS TO DRAW ATTENTION TO THE COMMUNIQUE AND UNDERLINE THE APPROACH BEING TAKEN BY ALLIANCE MEMBERS.

6. WHILE THE POSSIBILITY OF A BREAKDOWN IN THE TALKS WAS NOT ENVISAGED, IT WAS CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO KEEP THE WESTERN PRESS AND PUBLIC WELL INFORMED OF THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE ALLIED

PARTICIPANTS AND OF THEIR SUPPORTING RATIONALE, LEST ANY ATTEMPT BE MADE AT SOME FUTURE DATE TO ATTRIBUTE BLAME TO THE WEST FOR FAILURE IN THE DISCUSSIONS.

D. RECESS

7. THE POSSIBLE USEFULNESS WAS MENTIONED OF A RECESS OF REASONABLE LENGTH, WHICH MIGHT APPROPRIATELY OCCURE OVER THE SUMMER VACATION PERIOD, SO AS TO ALLOW TIME FOR A FRESH STOCKTAKING EXERCISE, PARTICULARLY BY THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES. THIS MATTER, AFTER MORE CONSIDERATION IN CAPITALS, MIGHT FEATURE IN A FUTURE DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL IN PERMANENT SESSION.

E. SPECIFIC ISSUES

(I) PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS

8. THE PRINCIPLE TO WHICH THE WORDING OF PEACEFUL CHANGE MIGHT MOST APPROPRIATELY BE LINKED WILL CONTINUE TO BE STUDIED BY ALLIED PARTICIPANTS. ONE POSSIBILITY THAT HAS FOUND SUPPORT IS LINKAGE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

(II) CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES

9. WITH RESPECT TO CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES, ALLIED GOVERNMENTS CONSIDER THESE MEASURES AS BEING AN ESSENTIAL AND INDEPENDENT ELEMENT OF CSCE. THEREFORE, ANY INSISTENCE FROM THE CONFIDENTIAL

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EASTERN COUNTRIES TO TRANSFER CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE TO A FOLLOW-UP BODY OR THE CONTINUATION OF THE WORK OF SUB-COMMITTEE 2 ON THE MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY BEYOND THE END OF THE CSCE SHOULD BE OPPOSED. ON SUBSTANCE THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE REQUIREMENT FOR CLEAR AND FLEXIBLE GUIDANCE TO ALLOW NEGOTIATIONS IN GENEVA TO BE PURSUED SUCCESSFULLY. SUCH GUIDANCE SHOULD IN PARTICULAR COVER THE AREA OF APPLICATION OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES IN THE SOVIET TERRITORY, THE SIZE OF THE FORCES INVOLVED AND THE DEGREE OF ADVANCE NOTIFICATION.

(III) MEDITERRANEAN

10. THE NEED TO AVOID DIVISIVE APPROACHES AMONG THE ALLIES ON HOW TO HANDLE THE SUGGESTION OF A DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN IN THE CSCE CONTEXT WAS RECOGNIZED.

F. PHASE THREE

11. GIVEN THE PRESENT MODEST STATE OF ADVANCEMENT AND CURRENT UNCERTAINTIES AT PHASE TWO, IT WAS CONSIDERED PREMATURE TO DEFINE FURTHER THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS PERTAINING TO A FINAL PHASE. MEANWHILE, ALL OPTIONS SHOULD BE KEPT OPEN.

G.FOLLOW-UP

12. WHILE THE IDEA OF A MEETING TO EVALUATE PROGRESS ONCE
SUFFICIENT TIME HAD ELAPSED AFTER THE CSCE FOUND GENERAL FAVOUR,
IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE MANDATE TO BE GIVEN TO SUCH A MEETING
SHOULD BE CONSIDERED MORE CLOSELY AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE
WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING THAT ITS SCOPE WAS NOT TOO BROADLY DEFINED.

END TEXT
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